

DIA/OCI/BRIEF 148-75
23 SEPTEMBER 1975

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 148-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: THE NEW GOVERNMENT CAN EXPECT NO HONEYMOON PERIOD, ESPECIALLY FROM THE COMMUNISTS, WHO ARE ALREADY DEMONSTRATING THAT THEY WILL NOT EASILY GIVE UP THE GAINS THEY HAVE MADE.4

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS CHALLENGING THE NEW GOVERNMENT SO THAT THERE WILL BE NO BACKSLIDING ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND INDUSTRIAL NATIONALIZATION PROGRAMS; THE PARTY IS ALSO ATTEMPTING TO BLOCK EFFORTS TO CHANGE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHERE COMMUNISTS ARE IN CONTROL. THEY WILL OBVIOUSLY WORK HARD TO HANG ON IN THE MEDIA, LABOR, AND THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY.4

THE COMMUNISTS GET STRONG SUPPORT FROM PEASANT FARM WORKERS IN THE SOUTH, WHERE AGRARIAN REFORM EFFORTS WERE CONCENTRATED UNDER FORMER PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES. IN A SPEECH ON SUNDAY AT A COOPERATIVE FARM SOUTH OF LISBON, COMMUNIST LEADER CUNHAL WARNED THAT "REACTIONARY" FORCES IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT—I.E., THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS—WILL SEEK TO UNDERMINE THE PROCESS OF LAND REFORM.4

CUNHAL ASSURED THE CROWD THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL USE THEIR
ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT REVOLUTIONARY GAINS. THE PARTY

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HAS PUSHED HARD FOR AND APPEARS LIKELY TO RECEIVE A SUBCABINET POSITION IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE. THE POST WOULD GIVE IT A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT DECISIONS ON AGRICULTURAL MATTERS. A RALLY IS SCHEDULED FOR SATURDAY TO DEMONSTRATE COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTHERN FARM WORKERS.4

IN PORTO, THE CIVIL GOVERNOR'S EFFORT TO DISMISS THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL WAS REJECTED BY LEFTIST AND COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATORS WHO CLASHED WITH POLICE LAST FRIDAY. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOVERNOR HAS NOT BACKED DOWN. HE HAS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN LISBON WILL RECONSTITUTE LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES SO AS TO REFLECT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.4

THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, MEANWHILE, IS TRYING TO FOMENT UNREST AMONG INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. THE GROUP INTENDS TO DISCOURAGE ANY ATTEMPT BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO BACK DOWN ON THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY BY THE GONCALVES REGIME. SOME 60 PERCENT OF PORTUGUESE INDUSTRY IS AFFECTED BY THE NATIONALIZATION.4

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT HAS ANNOUNCED ITS OPPOSITION TO THE

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AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT AND HAS PROMISED A "PERIOD OF SOCIAL AGITATION." THE MOVEMENT IS SUPPORTING A ONE-HOUR STRIKE CALLED BY THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED STEELWORKERS FOR WEDNESDAY. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS PROBABLY ALSO BEHIND DEMONSTRATIONS BY EXTREME LEFTIST GROUPS. THE PARTY HAS BEEN STRONGLY CRITICIZED BY THE EXTREME LEFT FOR JOINING THE SOCIALIST-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT.4

THE COMMUNISTS COULD COOPERATE WITH THOSE SPLINTER GROUPS WHOSE ACTIONS FIT IN WITH THE PARTY'S STRATEGY OF ENCOURAGING DISRUPTIONS WHILE MAINTAINING A FACADE OF SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT. ONE SUCH EFFORT MAY BE A DEMONSTRATION TO BE HELD ON THURSDAY BY AN EXTREMIST GROUP IN THE MILITARY—"SOLDIERS UNITED SHALL WIN"—TO DEMAND INCREASED WAGES AND OTHER BENEFITS FOR THE MILITARY.4

THE NEW GOVERNMENT COULD PROVE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY RADICALS WHO ACCUSE IT OF BEING "REACTIONARY." SOME MILITARY OFFICERS DO NOT WANT TO RISK THEIR "REVOLUTIONARY" CREDENTIALS BY SUPPORTING THE GOVERNMENT. SECURITY CHIEF CARVALHO, FOR INSTANCE, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE INTENDS TO KEEP HIS DISTANCE FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND TO "ENTER DECIDEDLY INTO THE OPPOSITION" IF THE GOVERNMENT

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SHOWS ANY SIGN OF A TURN TO THE RIGHT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

2. USSR-JAPAN: THE SOVIETS HAVE INCREASED THEIR PROTESTS AGAINST A SINO-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY, IN THE WAKE OF ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA WILL MEET WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA AT THE UN THIS WEEK. THE TWO MEN ARE EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TREATY, WHICH HAVE BEEN STALLED SINCE JUNE.4

EARLIER THIS MONTH THERE WERE SEVERAL PRESS ITEMS REGISTERING MOSCOW'S OPPOSITION TO A SINO-JAPANESE TREATY THAT CONTAINED AN ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. A PRAVDA ARTICLE ON SEPTEMBER 10 WARNED THE JAPANESE THAT THERE WOULD BE "SEVERE CONSEQUENCES" FOR SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS IF JAPAN SIGNED SUCH A TREATY. ON SEPTEMBER 17, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN TOKYO CALLED ON MIYAZAWA AND SUGGESTED THAT REALIZATION OF A VISIT BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO TO JAPAN, TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR THE END OF THIS YEAR, DEPENDED ON HOW TOKYO HANDLED THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE.4

GROMYKO'S VISIT WAS IN DOUBT EVEN BEFORE IT BECAME KNOWN THAT SINO-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TREATY WERE ABOUT TO RESUME. BY

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IMPLYING THAT THE VISIT IS LINKED TO THE TREATY ISSUE, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY HOPE TO GIVE SOME SUBSTANCE TO THEIR THREAT OF "SEVERE CONSEQUENCES" ENSUING FROM JAPAN'S AGREEMENT TO THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE.4

MOSCOW PROBABLY HAS NOT DISMISSED THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS OBJECTIONS COULD, AS THEY DID LAST SPRING, HELP STALL THE SINO-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THE SOVIETS HAVE LONG SINCE BECOME RESIGNED TO AN EVENTUAL TREATY CONTAINING THE OFFENDING CLAUSE. THE SOVIETS ALSO SEEM TO BE TRYING TO IMPRESS ON THE JAPANESE THAT IF THEY ACCEPT THIS CLAUSE THEY WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE TO MAKE SOME COMPENSATORY GESTURE TOWARD THE USSR.4

WHAT MOSCOW WOULD LIKE MOST WOULD BE FOR JAPAN TO AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION THAT GROMYKO FIRST PROPOSED WHEN MIYAZAWA WAS IN MOSCOW LAST JANUARY. SUCH A TREATY WOULD SKIRT THE SEEMINGLY IRRECONCILABLE SOVIET-JAPANESE DIFFERENCES OVER THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND WOULD, IN THE SOVIET VIEW, POLITICALLY NULLIFY THE ANTI-SOVIET ASPECTS OF THE PENDING SINO-JAPANESE ACCORD. TOKYO HAS CONSISTENTLY REJECTED ANY TREATY

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JAPAN'S AGREEMENT TO THE HEGEMONY CLAUSES REQUIRES SOME COMPENSATORY
GESTURE TOWARD THE USSR. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 148-75.4

1. USSR-JAPAN: THE SOVIETS HAVE INCREASED THEIR PROTESTS AGAINST A SINO-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY, IN THE WAKE OF ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA WILL MEET WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA AT THE UN THIS WEEK. THE TWO MEN ARE EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TREATY, WHICH HAVE BEEN STALLED SINCE JUNE.4

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WHAT MOSCOW WOULD LIKE MOST WOULD BE FOR JAPAN TO AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION THAT GROMYKO FIRST PROPOSED WHEN MIYAZAWA WAS IN MOSCOW LAST JANUARY. SUCH A TREATY WOULD SKIRT THE SEEMINGLY IRRECONCILABLE SOVIET-JAPANESE DIFFERENCES OVER THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND WOULD, IN THE SOVIET VIEW, POLITICALLY NULLIFY THE ANTI-SOVIET ASPECTS OF THE PENDING SINO-JAPANESE ACCORD. TOKYO HAS CONSISTENTLY REJECTED ANY TREATY

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HOWEVER, AND IS UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT ANY SOVIET SUGGESTION THAT
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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 148-75.4

1. LEBANON: FIGHTING CONTINUED MONDAY IN BEIRUT. THE CURRENT STRIFE ALREADY HAS DRASTICALLY WEAKENED LEBANON'S POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THAT EACH DAY OF FIGHTING DESTROYS A BIT MORE OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL STRENGTH.4

MONDAY NIGHT, THE RIGHT-WING PHALANGES PARTY AS WELL AS LEFT-WING GROUPS AND ARAB NATIONALISTS AGREED AGAIN TO ABIDE BY A CEASE-FIRE CONCLUDED SATURDAY NIGHT. THE PHALANGISTS MAY BE WILLING TO OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE THIS TIME, BECAUSE THEY ARE REPORTEDLY LOW ON AMMUNITION.4

SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM MONDAY CONTINUED HIS EFFORTS TO MEDIATE. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE HE HAS INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO RETURN TO DAMASCUS UNTIL HE HAS ARRANGED A BASIS FOR A MORE STABLE SITUATION IN LEBANON. ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE LOCAL OBSERVER CLAIMS THAT KHADDAM IS SEEKING TO WORK OUT THE "PRINCIPLES" OF A BINDING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, ON THE ONE HAND, AND AMONG THE LEBANESE FACTIONS ON THE OTHER. DETAILS OF BOTH ACCORDS WOULD BE HAMMERED

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OUT AFTER HIS RETURN TO DAMASCUS.4

THE STATED CONDITIONS OF BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT TO OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE HAVE VARIED WIDELY. THE PHALANGISTS WERE REPORTED TO BE DEMANDING A CEASE-FIRE WITH NO POLITICAL CONDITIONS. THE LEFTISTS, INCLUDING PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER KAMAL JUMBLATT, WERE INSISTING THAT ALL PARTIES AGREE TO DISCUSS A LEFT-SPONSORED REFORM PROGRAM THAT INCLUDED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NATIONAL COVENANT. THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY, INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER KARAMI, REPORTEDLY OPPOSES THE HARSH POSITION OF THE LEFTISTS, WHICH IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PHALANGISTS AND THE OTHER CHRISTIANS. A COMPROMISE WAS REPORTEDLY UNDER CONSIDERATION WHEREBY ALL PARTIES WOULD AGREE TO DISCUSS ONLY REFORMS. THIS WOULD NOT IMPLY A RADICAL ATTACK ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT.4

THE MODERATE FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO DESIRE A FORMULA THAT WOULD END THE FIGHTING AND REDUCE THE PRESSURE FOR THEIR INVOLVEMENT. A FATAH OFFICIAL TOLD [REDACTED] THAT PHALANGISTS 25X1X ATTACKS ON PALESTINIANS HAD ESCALATED OVER THE PREVIOUS

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FEW DAYS. THE FATAH OFFICIAL SAID THAT, IF THIS CONTINUED, PLO LEADER YASIR ARAFAT WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RESTRAIN THE MAIN PALESTINIAN FORCES.

OBSERVERS IN BEIRUT BELIEVES THAT NEARLY ALL THE FORCES, EXCEPT FOR THE COMMUNISTS AND THE FEDAYEEN "REJECTIONISTS," WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN END TO THE FIGHTING, BUT EACH ON ITS OWN TERMS. THE CURRENT CEASE-FIRE DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR THE REMOVAL OF BARRICADES AND ARMED MEN FROM THE STREETS OF THE CAPITAL. NOTING THAT WITHOUT SUCH A CLAUSE THE ENTIRE ARRANGEMENT IS AT THE MERCY OF THE LEAST DISCIPLINED ELEMENTS, OBSERVERS DOUBT THAT THE CEASE-FIRE AS PRESENTLY ENVISAGED CAN BE ENFORCED EFFECTIVELY. {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. ANGOLA: THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA RETOOK CAXITO AND THE NEARBY TOWN OF BARRA DO DANDE LAST WEEKEND, ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT BY PORTUGUESE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN LUANDA. THE NATIONAL FRONT SUFFERED A MAJOR SETBACK TWO WEEKS AGO WHEN IT WAS DRIVEN FROM THE TOWNS BY THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA.

THE RECAPTURE OF THE TOWNS, WHICH AGAIN PLACES THE FRONT IN A

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STRONG POSITION SOME 40 MILES NORTHEAST OF LUANDA, WILL HELP REVIVE THE FRONT'S FLAGGING MILITARY FORTUNES. FRONT LEADER HOLDEN ROBERTO WILL USE THE VICTORY TO REINFORCE HIS CLAIM THAT THE FRONT IS A MILITARY AND POLITICAL FORCE TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND THAT IT MUST HAVE A MEANINGFUL ROLE IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT WHEN ANGOLA RECEIVES INDEPENDENCE ON NOVEMBER 11.4

IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT TO GAIN CREDIBILITY THE FRONT WILL HAVE TO PUT CONSIDERABLY MORE PRESSURE ON THE POPULAR MOVEMENT THAN IT HAS IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. THE POPULAR MOVEMENT STILL DOMINATES THE CAPITAL, LUANDA, THE MOST IMPORTANT SOUTHERN COASTAL CENTERS—INCLUDING ANGOLA'S MAIN PORT OF LOBITO—AND THE CABINDA EXCLAVE.4

THE MOVEMENT-CONTROLLED PRESS IN LUANDA WILL PLAY DOWN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONT'S MILITARY GAINS. THE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN TRYING TO PRESENT ITSELF AS THE ONLY LIBERATION GROUP CAPABLE OF ASSUMING CONTROL OF AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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